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Non-aligned no longer look up to a Big Brother

Moscow is busy laying the groundwork for a new and large-scale "peace campaign." Now that the conference on security and cooperation in Europe has settled down, first in Helsinki, now in Geneva, the Soviet Union is growing increasingly insistent in canvassing support for a similar undertaking in Asia.

A number of observers do not rate the Soviet scheme's prospects very highly, yet was not Moscow's plan for a European security conference for years dismissed in the West as a non-starter?

Speaking in Alma Ata in August, Mr Brezhnev noted that "we feel it our duty to extend detente to the entire world and consider it important to include Asia in this process.

"The Soviet Union advocates collective security in Asia because its aim is to eliminate the possibility of war, military conflict and imperialist aggression on the Asian continent."

The Soviet leader called on all the countries of Asia, including People's China, to join a "collective security system." All were promised full equality and non-intervention in their domestic affairs.

Moscow is endeavouring with the perseverance that is its hallmark to peddle these fine-sounding intentions left, right and centre: in the Press, on Ministerial visits, in Asia itself and at conferences.

An international peace congress is shortly to be convened in Moscow and one of the main items on the agenda will be collective security in Asia. The idea has already met with the approval of 250 Indian Congress MPs and pro-Moscow Communists.

The Indian delegates state that the congress must make it clear that the "forces of peace" can only emerge victorious in Asia, the most crisis-prone of continents, provided a collective security system comes into being.

The idea of a security system of this kind for Asia has been going the rounds for four years, starting with a single sentence in a long speech by Leonid Brezhnev at the June 1969 Communist summit in Moscow.

Trends to which Mr Brezhnev referred in this context included the US withdrawal from Indo-China (a reduction of US military presence was already in the offing) and the British phase-out from South-East Asia.

At all costs Moscow wanted to prevent China from extending its influence in the post-Vietnam era. The Kremlin planned to fill the vacuum itself and was on the lookout for a number of suitable Asian fellow-travellers.

Peking responded promptly and virulently. The Chinese had visions of a new and unholy alliance between the superpowers, a conspiracy for the further containment of China jointly supervised by the United States and the Soviet Union.

They proved mistaken as far as the United States was concerned. As soon as the Brezhnev plan was made public President Nixon reviewed policy towards China. He and Dr Kissinger, his national security adviser, were on the lookout for a new balance of power, America no longer being able to sustain the role of policing Asia alone. Mr Nixon was thus no longer interested in weakening China's position.

The overwhelming majority of Asian countries was not to be enticed by the Soviet offer. They showed more interest in unimpeachable relations with China, the emerging great power. Mr Brezhnev probably decided to shelve his plan because of this lack of interest in Soviet-style collective security.

Not until the longstanding conflict between India and Pakistan flared up again dangerously in 1971 did Moscow see a fresh opportunity of extending Soviet influence in Asia. India sought Soviet backing and signed a twenty-year "peace, friendship and cooperation treaty."

This pact and ample supplies of amaments enabled India to divide Pakistan and allow East Pakistan to declare itself independent as the new state of Bangla Desh. In point of fact the new state remained dependent on both Moscow and New Delhi.

From the Soviet viewpoint the treaty with India was a model example of the projected Asian security system. Since it was signed New Delhi has lent the entire project every assistance and support. How in the circumstances India is ever to reach understanding with China, an aim mentioned so frequently by Mrs Gandhi, is anyone's guess.

As in Europe Moscow sets great store in Asia by the recognition of existing frontiers. Insofar as this is intended to entail brushing all Asian frontier issues under the carpet Mr Brezhnev's plan would, in this respect at least, appear to be a non-starter.

Even leaving aside the fact that Peking does not recognise the Soviet Union as an Asian country, the mutual recognition of frontiers seems doomed to failure. Asia is the continent with the largest number of outstanding frontier conflicts, and in Asia nationalism still has a long way to go before it reaches the final stage it has reached in Europe..

The Soviet Union will not, of course, abandon its project overnight. What it has in mind is a fine web of treaties between everyone and with everyone and hopefully gaining for Moscow a say in all Asian affairs.

In addiation to India, Bangla Desh and People's Mongolia the Kremlin has so far gained the support of Afghanistan and Iraq, while Iran is still hesitating with one eye on Peking.

Japan, Asia's leading industrial power, would very much like to do better business with the Soviet Union than in the past, but in political terms it will not want to jeopardise progress towards understanding with China.

Peking can currently lay claim to the support of North Korea, Pakistan, Ceylon and, to an increasing extent, Burma. The situation in South-East Asia is in flux, but by no means unfavourable to China.

The trend is towards non-alignment and neutralisation. From Thailand to Indonesia more and more countries are tending to dispense with the protective services of a Big Brother. They would like to remain among themselves and are engaged in a search for new forms of cooperation precluding foreign intervention.

They do not want to exchange the Nixon Doctrine, which does, when all is said and done, allow them a considerable degree of independence, for a dubious Brezhnev Doctrine.

Moscow's collective security system is aimed at replacing existing regional agreements. Countries are to be left to their own devices once more as far as possible, thus making it easier to exercise control over them.

This ambition has encountered determined objections to Mr Brezhnev's plans, objections that are in line with the interests of both China and America.

Siegfried Kubink

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 October 1973)



Dr Ernst Klett (left) handing over the Peace Prize to Dr Aurelio Peccei and Professor Eduard Pestel (right) (Photo: dpa)

Club of Rome awarded Peace Prize

This year's Peace Prize of the Federal Republic Booksellers Association was awarded on 14 October in Frankfurt to the Club of Rome, an international group consisting of 85 scientists, industrialists and economists.

Federal President Gustav Heinemann was among the guests of honour as Dr Aurelio Peccei of Rome and Professor Eduard Pestel of Hanover, received the award, worth 10,000 Marks, on behalf of the Club of Rome's executive committee in Frankfurt's festively decorated *Paulskirche*.

Dr Ernst Klett, chairman of the Booksellers Association, made the presentation, which was the first ever to an institution rather than an individual. Past prize-winners have included Albert Schweitzer, Theodor Heuss, Ernst Bloch and Alexander Mitscherlich.

The award was made in recognition of the indispensable contribution towards peace made by the Club, which was set up in the Italian capital in 1968, by virtue of its placing of research commissions and evaluation of the results.

The Club of Rome, Dr Nello Celio, ex-President of Switzerland, stated in his award address, must be credited with having appreciated that the tremendous development of modern industrial society represents a major problem and having made it the subject of scientific research.

The Club, he continued, had highlighted the whole range of existential problems resulting from the threat of destruction facing centuries-old values.

In this reply Professor Pestel suggested that the rich countries might already seek a transition from economic growth to dynamic balance. There need be no anxiety lest such a transition herald an era of intellectual and economic stagnation.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 October 1973)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Leftwards leap for Britain's Socialists

Opposition parties generally tend to greater extremes than when they are in office, the latest instance being Britain's Labour Party. At its annual conference in Blackpool Labour celebrated a return to full-blooded Socialism, approving a programme that Opposition leader Harold Wilson described as the most radical answer to the country's problems since 1945. At Blackpool the Left reigned triumphant.

Left and Right in politics are admittedly somewhat relative terms. In the ideological spectrum Labour's Left remains some distance to the right of young revolutionaries whose role is insignificant both in the Labour Party and in Britain as a whole.

There is no such phenomenon as Young Socialists of the German *Juso* species. The Labour Party Young Socialists pass largely unnoticed as a Labour fringe organisation with no influence on the Party executive.

The men responsible for Labour's current left spin are not long-haired youngsters but veterans of the working-class movement, trade unionists who were young in the days of the Spanish Civil War and elderly one-time supporters of Aneurin Bevan, who lost his fight for control of the Labour Party in the early fifties.

For decades left-wingers have played the minor role of the Party's socialist conscience in a movement that has pursued middle-of-the-road Social Democratic policies under moderate leadership.

Not until electoral defeat in 1970 after six years in office during which few of the Party's hopes had been fulfilled did radical tendencies resurface, as was only to be expected.

The pragmatic policies pursued by the outgoing Labour government had proved unable to solve the economic and social problems besetting Britain. Left-wing warnings seemed to have been warranted. Old ideals gained a new lease of life and it was not long before the erstwhile left-wing rebels gained a commanding influence both on the executive and at the Party conference.

The change, far from representing a breakthrough for neo-revolutionary ideology, is in fact a return to the Socialism of yore. Nationalisation, discarded a decade ago as a Marxist white elephant, is once more a major feature of Party policy. A whole range of domestic aims conveys the impression that Britain is on the way to becoming the most socialist state this side of the Iron Curtain.

This, of course, is far from being the case. Even if Labour were to win the next elections the left-wing trend would not continue unabated in government policies. The balance in the parliamentary party is by no means the same as at conference and the left and right wings of a future Wilson administration will differ little from their predecessors.

Besides, in British usage radical is a far cry from extremist. It is a virtue, not a vice, and both Liberals and Conservatives pride themselves on their radicalism.

Genuine extremists, miniscule groups of whom exist outside the ranks of the democratic parties, see no fundamental difference between Labour and Conservative anyway, both appearing to be bourgeois arms of a system that must be smote between the eyes by means of revolution from below.

The general public will have no truck with ideas of this kind. Whatever their choice of political party the British are basically far too conservative to think in terms of revolution.

A leading spokesman for the British New Left recently outlined the difference between the Labour Left and extreme left-wingers. The Labour Party, he maintained, may be a bulwark of the working class but it is at the same time an open prison for militant Socialists.

"The real dividing-line between Social Democrats and revolutionaries," he continued, "is their attitude towards Parliament and the bourgeois state machine."

Viewed in this light Labour's Left would appear, despite its class-struggle pathos, to be a reactionary grouping. They differ from the Party's Social Democrats in their advocacy of the teachings of Karl Marx but despite their radicalism they remain firmly within the bounds of both the democratic Labour Party constitution and the country's parliamentary democracy.

There can be no denying that left-wing Socialists have in recent years gained influence greater than that they have wielded for generations, and the Blackpool Party conference demonstrated that this will not be without effect on Party policies, but there can, for that matter, be no question of a take-over either.

The swing to the Left bears witness to more than mere dctrinaire ideology. Nationalisation may have been regarded as an article of faith at Blackpool to such an extent as to meet with the disapproval of large numbers of voters, but nationalisation is by no means the red rag to a bull it used to be.

The ruling Conservative government nationalised Rolls Royce and has introduced far-reaching economic controls. This being the case, Labour had little option but to move even further left in order to provide an ideologically-tinged alternative.

Labour's programme is a long-term one. It remains to be seen what might actually be implemented in the wake of a Labour victory at the polls. A Labour government would certainly inaugurate economic measures and social reforms designed to change the face of Britain.

Labour's foreign policy aims are k[...] clear. Within Europe, however, a Labour government would probably confront allies with a number of problems.

Renegotiation of British Common Market membership as called for by Wilson as a preliminary to a referendum in order to allow the voters to decide whether or not Britain is to stay in the European Community. This would be bound to slow the Market down.

How in the circumstances progress towards economic and monetary union is to be accomplished according to schedule is a mystery.

In the aftermath of Blackpool it would certainly not be going too far to feel that in general terms Britain and its allies will be in for a period of unrest should the next general election return a Labour government to power.

Fritz Heimpke

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 8 October 1973)

OPEC talks and oil as an Arab political weapon

Talks between the six countries on the Persian Gulf that export petroleum and the thirteen Western firms that buy the oil have never given rise to overmuch public interest, but those who have followed the progress of such talks in the past will not be surprised to hear that the first round of negotiations has failed to result in agreement.

This time it is different, though. The breakdown of the Vienna OPEC talks must be viewed against the background of the Arab threat to use oil as a political weapon in the Middle East war. Already buyers are starting to hoard oil.

There is no need to hoard. The Common Market has enough oil in reserve to last for ninety days and this country has also taken the necessary precautions. The only result of buying left, right and centre would be to run suppliers temporarily dry, push prices up and give rise to panic.

Composure is called for, particularly in this country, where Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt has only recently struck a fair bargain with the Shah. Iran, currently only sixth on the list of this country's suppliers, is to step up its oil deliveries in return for increased investment in Iran by Bonn.

There is certainly no need to worry about where tomorrow's petrol or heating oil are to come from.

As for using oil as a weapon in the Middle East conflict, the Arabs will be well aware that there are two sides to the story. If they sell no more oil they will have no more money to spend on arms.

What is more, some of the OPEC countries derive more than ninety per cent of their revenue from oil and need the income not only to pay for the war but also to finance vital domestic expenditure, not to mention improvements in infrastructures that everywhere leave much to be desired.

Turning off the oil tap is easier said than done, and there can be no saying how the great powers are going to react to a move of this kind. Have the Arabs really done their homework on all these points?

Hilmar Börsling

(Bremer Nachrichten, 11 October 1973)

Financial considerations in Ostpolitik

Everyone in Bonn realises (though no one will admit as much in public) that *Ostpolitik* could well run more smoothly if only this country were prepared to lubricate the moving parts with Marks and pfennigs.

Bundestag members, diplomats and journalists all have gained the impression from talks with Eastern Europeans, particularly Russians and Poles, that Moscow and Warsaw would be more co-operative on many an issue if only Bonn were to be economically and financially more obliging.

Representatives of communist countries will naturally hear nothing of allegations that they are prepared to trade compromises on Berlin in return for ready cash, but on the quiet they frankly admit that greater generosity on West Germany's part would make life easier all round. One good turn would deserve another, as it were.

So far the Federal government has failed to reach agreement on theanner and extent to which Bonn might oblige the East. Foreign Minister Walter Scheel for one is in favour of swift action. If he is unable to offer his Polish opposite number Stefan Olszowski at least the prospect of an economic proposition there will continue to be an embargo on the provision of exit permits for Poles of German extraction.

The Polish government naturally denies that there is any connection between the two but notes on the other hand that it cannot afford a mass exodus of skilled workers whose training has cost Warsaw a substantial amount of money.

The Foreign Office initially proposed to help matters along by using the taxpayers' money to subsidise interest rates on export credits for Eastern Bloc countries.

Finance Minister Helmuth Schmidt and Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs were very much against this proposal. They rightly feared that cheap export credits would prove an expensive proposition for this country in more than one respect.

Bonn is having trouble enough as it is with its export surplus. Boosting exports still further would be adding fuel to the fire. Besides, the developing countries – and others too – would descend on Bonn like a ton of bricks with similar demands. Economic Cooperation Minister Erhard Eppler agreed wholeheartedly with his opposite numbers at the Ministries of Economic Affairs and Finance.

The boffins are now busy at the drawing-board. One of the proposals so far made is for a special low-interest credit to be provided by the Reconstruction Loan Corporation, a government agency. The recipient, say Poland, would not have to spend the money in this country; it could use it to buy machine tools in Britain or France, for instance.

Advocates of credit facilities of this kind will hear nothing of them amounting to reparations in all but name. There is indeed a qualitative difference. On the other hand it cannot be gainsaid that some such proposition ought to silence Eastern Bloc demands for reparations.

A second, additional possibility would be to finance projects in Eastern European countries from which the Federal Republic stood to benefit in the long term. One example cited is that of nuclear power stations in the Soviet Union that would feed the West German national grid.

This would certainly be in accord with Bonn's energy policy of meeting requirements from as many sources as possible in order to avoid being overdependent on single sources of fuel or power.

Jürgen Lorenz

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 5 October 1973)

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■ POLITICS

SPD conference gets to grips with party strife

At its party-political conference in Münster the North Rhine-Westphalia SPD has gathered its problems together and laid them on the table. The new, and more particularly the old, Federal state chairman made it quite clear that they are not ignoring the internal rifts in the party and do not want to try to paper over them with fine words.

The rigorous analyses at this party-political conference gave it as much significance as a national party assembly. Following the noisy proceedings at local party group meetings it was predictable that the congress would not be able to avoid dealing with conflicts within the party. The proposals put before the party political conference were to a large extent concerned with more than provincial assembly affairs, for example, the admittance of extremists to public positions and the imperative mandate.

The thing that Kühn and Figgen brought to light in Munich were, however, surprising considering the way they piled on the arguments and the passion with which they expressed them.

Even bearing in mind Hans Jochen Vogel's expression of pessimism it is a long time since a leading Social Democrat has called a spade a spade in the way Figgen did with regard to the schisms in the SPD.

No one so far has taken such a tough line with the Young Socialists as did Kühn, and certainly no member of the party presidium let alone one of Brandt's deputies.

Kühn's warnings about creating a party within a party and the like are certainly not the outcome of resentment. This was not a case of a "left-winger" who is being attacked from the left in no uncertain manner, trying to teach then good manners.

And it was certainly not a case of an SPD firebrand taking advantage of Willy Brandt's absense to sow his own seeds in the political landscape.

In Münster on 30 September we did not see a repeat of the Wehner affair. It was far more the case of a member of the party who had received a scare lighting a political beacon in a well-thought out speech.

This is something that Brandt's other deputy, Helmut Schmidt, who is reckoned to be a right-winger, would not have been able to do.

In Münster it was a question of getting to grips with the past and present. Party comrades were given a timely warning before the forth-coming elections by the party leadership that they could no longer rely on the weakness of the CDU and CSU and political trends.

Despite having a considerable majority the SPD government seems to be striking up an extraordinary defensive attitude to the Opposition. But at precisely this moment it is able to afford a feud within the party.

With elections coming up it is not possible for anyone to give guarantees that the electorate will consider the battle over policies and trends in the SPD a proof of political vitality and reward this with their votes. In this light patching up the cracks would be far more important than clearing up conflicts within the party.

This clarification is essential and pressing. The Young Socialists have credibly rejected accusations that they want to cause a party split or become a party within the party.

Wanting to change the SPD they are of course not keen to become isolated within it or be forced to leave it. But in future they may be forced to leave it. But in future they must show clearly what their penacea of radical changes to the system will actually produce, and clarify the fact that their "other republic" will not be followed by or proceeded by any alteration to the free liberal legal setup in this country.

One cannot deny that the Young Socialists have done a sterling service for the party. They have toiled selflessly in election campaigns and they have on occasions helped to wake up the more sleepy party members and serve the cause of critical reflection.

But if they now rely on the political awareness of the voter and continue to expect that their activities and thoughts will be rewarded by votes, as they clearly did in Munich, they are fooling no one but themselves.



Werner Figgen (Photo: Archiv)

Young Socialists are not a homogeneous group and it is their right that the party should not condemn them in toto. Their achievements should be honoured and not simply recognised by a patronising clap on the shoulder. But if they want to be taken seriously politically they must take their own declarations and resolutions themselves.

They should not take the line that they can put their abstruse way of thinking into effect without consideration for the effect it will have on the SPD.

It will be of benefit to the whole SPD if the fire that was started by Heinz Kühn in Münster did not turn out to be a flash in the pan. It is not a question of a witch hunt. It is a matter of seeing that the signal that was given in Münster has its effect.

Lothar Labusch

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 October 1973)

FDP not ready to flirt with CDU

CDU General Secretary Kurt Biedenkopf is clever enough to know that his advice to the Lower Saxony Christian Democrats to "make the most of their chance to flirt with the FDP" sounds pretty but is not of any particular practical value.

The CDU/CSU Opposition cannot attack the Bonn government coalition with pure tactical manoeuvring. Of course when the political set-up is taken into consideration the most likely place for an alliance of the CDU and FDP is in Lower Saxony – always assuming that the FDP returns to the provincial assembly, which seems highly likely.

But the Free Democrats are unlikely to be over-enthusiastic about a move that would strengthen the CDU majority in the Bundesrat.

Agreements on maintaining the status quo, such as the Grand Coalition in Baden-Württemberg have tried, are not very practical. The late FDP General Secretary Karl-Hermann Flach said that if the government coalition manages to achieve its main aim at the forthcoming provincial assembly elections, namely to retain the majority in the Bundesrat, that will be the time to start thinking about the possibility of a provincial assembly coalition with the CDU.

But the provincial assembly elections in which an SPD/FDP majority could cost a CDU local government – for instance in the Saar – will not take place until the Lower Saxony elections are over.

The FDP has once again rejected the main points of policy put forward by the CDU for its conference in Hamburg. The severity with which the FDP rejected these CDU proposals shows that despite the undeniable rapprochement there is still a great basic gulf between the two parties. Former CDU Chairman Rainer Barzel was the one at the meeting of the party leadership who pointed out that all the decisions taken must be seen in the light of national politics.

The time is not yet ripe for a signal to be given – be it at the election for the Federal Presidency, at a provincial assembly election or by cooperation in the Bundestag. The FDP at present has no interest in cooperating with the CDU. Biedenkopf knows this well, and although he can cause something of a stir he can do nothing towards the formation of new political groupings.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 October 1973)

New-look CDU line old hat

The Christian Democrats have set the points for their party-political conference in Hamburg in November. The party's national committee has decided the topics that delegates will have to decide upon.

These subjects are inevitable: worker participation in management, schemes for capital wealth accumulation in private hands, land laws and vocational training.

These four subjects have lately become the central matters on the domestic policy scene. They are topics that no major party today can afford to avoid. It is in these fields that the opposing political armies take up their weapons.

What the "union" parties have to offer is the armoury of an Opposition party which is striving to regain a position on the government benches. In the present situation it is not possible for the CDU/CSU to do this alone – they need a partner. And the only conceivable partner is the FDP.

So, what the "union" parties have to offer as a programme of reforms is designed to act as a signal to the FDP. And the FDP in question is a party that considers itself the conservative element trying to prevent a fundamental change to society.

Gone are the days when the CDU/CSU toyed with the possibility that the way to replace a left-wing/liberal coalition was by moving leftwards themselves.

When the Brandt/Scheel government came to power reforming zeal hit its high spot. As a temporary answer to this the only possibility appeared to be the promise of even more and better reforms.

Since then the Christian Democratic Union has done some thinking about its own "basic values", particularly as the Opposition parties believe they spy the rise of a continually strengthening left-wing factor in Social Democracy.

Today the Christian Democrats are beginning to feel that a conservative alternative programme could bring them success.

The proposals of the CDU leadership for the Hamburg conference are in the main conservative. It is only because conservatism is a difficult commodity to sell today that the package has been gift-wrapped with a few tinselly reform proposals.

The clearest of the CDU tactics is to offer old wine in new bottles, especially where worker participation is concerned. The formal equality of labour and capital is really o more than phoney parrity. A plan of this kind would be bound to fall foul of the CDU's social services sub-committees. And it looked like real playacting when the economic circles of the CDU/CSU cried out as if they were mortally wounded by the participation proposals.

When CDU General Secretary Kurt Biedenkopf speaks of "a central part of our social welfare policy philosophy" it is unmistakably true that the CDU has at heart not been able to shake off its old slogan of "no experiments".

Then the Opposition paints a picture-book illustration of the free-market economy and acts as if all is going well. They make no mention of the fact that the private enterprise system is creaking and groaning right, left and centre. They make no mention of the fact that catastrophic cankers have caused grave doubts about whether the system can survive.

Scepticism about the gospel of the free-market economy is not the heresy of anarchists and iconoclasts – this is something that proved a headache for the CDU's chief ideologist Professor Richard von Weizsäcker and his commission on basic principles. He hinted that this godhead would have to be secularised.

Viewed in this light the proposals of the CDU leaders for the Hamburg party conference are not a genuine programme of reforms but a step backwards. They are a conservative alternative to socialist/liberal reform concept.

The traditional voters for the CDU/CSU are not to be lost. But what new voters can be recruited? In the long term the CDU will aim for the FDP voter as doubts arise whether the FDP can maintain its position as a liberal regulator to the SPD's excesses as the pressure from the left increases.

This is clearly a tactical concept. The question to be answered is whether the books can be balanced. Of course the government's reform programme is not so convincing that it sends everyone into raptures and the internal situation of the SPD is not calculated to inspire great confidence.

But on the other hand was it not the widespread expectation that reform would follow that led to the SPD/FDP's achieving government status in the first place.

It is not the government's failure to hold ground they have captured that is perturbing some of its supporters today, but the SPD/FDP's failure to push through the reform programmes they have announced with great confidence.

Gerhard Ziegler

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 October 1973)

■ ARMED FORCES

Lt-General Hildebrandt takes over army command



Horst Hildebrandt

Defining the responsibilities and restrictions involved in being an army commander proves difficult. Lieutenant-General Ernst Ferber, who occupied this post for two years before succeeding General Bennecke as Nato's commander in Central Europe on 1 October, claims from his own experience that though the term "army commander" sounds clear and simple the person in this position has to deal with everything connected with army preparedness despite the fact that he is not a commander-in-chief.

The army commander is responsible to the Minister of Defence for ensuring that the best interests of his branch of the armed forces are maintained. These range from training, leadership and intelligence to preparedness, logistics and the planning of armaments.

The army commander's staff of 350 seems relatively small to deal with questions affecting the largest branch of the armed forces, especially when it is considered that the staff for the navy and air force is just as big.

An army commander must not restrict himself to the administration of his almost quarter of a million soldiers, Ferber claims, but must also activate creative initiatives.

This does not mean that he should remodel the structure and ideas of the army according to his own wishes but that he should possess enough imagination and ability to put into practice the military reforms and guidelines decided upon by Bundestag politicians.

This occurred in two important sectors during Ferber's term of office. The training period was reduced from eighteen to fifteen months and study courses for the longer-term professional soldiers drawn up. Both these innovations were decisive and could not simply be "ordered". They had to be organised on as broad a basis as possible.

Lieutenant-General Hildebrandt, Ferber's successor, displays a similar readiness for cooperation when he defines the post of army commander as "duty to the top and the bottom", explaining that he wishes above all that his troops do not look upon him as "the bloke at the top".

This demands the desire and the ability to lead by means of information. Hildebrandt has already gained experience in this respect during his two spells on the army staff at the end of the fifties and in the late sixties.

As much as the continuity of the conception of leadership is stressed whenever there is a change in the army leadership, it is astonishing how many persons of widely ranging character have headed this branch of the armed forces since it was set up less than twenty years ago.

General Hildebrandt is already the seventh army commander. The first person in this post, Hans Röttiger (who died in April 1960), increased the size of the army to 148,000 by the end of 1959 and had already dealt with the problems posed by the shortage of training areas and the decline in the number of volunteers.

His successors Zerbel (1960 to 1964) and de Maizière as a springboard to the post of commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

De Maizière was followed by two generals Moll (1966 to 1968) and Schnez (1968 to 1971) who were to put a completely different stamp on the army. Moll displayed a typically Swabian liberal attitude towards his soldiers while Schnez made important changes in the structure and armament of the force as well as participating in a rather unfortunate study of the army's role.

Ferber grew up in Munich, passed his school-leaving examination with distinction in 1933 and as far as intellect went resembled de Maizière more than any other of his predecessors.

People around him occasionally felt the weight of his intellectual superiority. Whenever meetings threatened to become boring, Ferber would write poems about the colleagues around him.

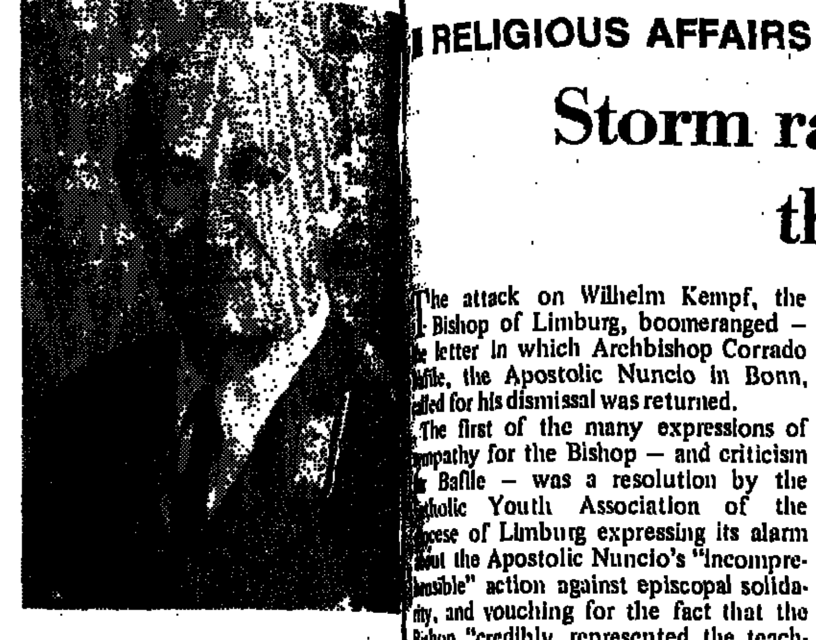
Hildebrandt was born in 1919 and is five years younger than Ferber.

The new army commander can therefore be expected to stay in his post longer than most of his predecessors. The army has after all had more commanders than the navy and air force.

The general himself refuses to speculate about the future. He does not look upon his appointment as a great turning-point in the structure of the army. The problems of this branch of the armed forces have remained remarkably constant over the years.

The question of rising expenditure on armaments must not be played down, he claims (Ferber at least managed to cut operational expenditure under his rationalisation programme) but Hildebrandt, who seems to prefer to react than to act, would like to deal with the various problems as they crop up.

The reduction in the period of national service must be allowed to become a matter of routine before the next step is taken. Nothing must be done overhastily. "You can do anything when you've got your feet on the ground," Hildebrandt comments.



Ernst Ferber

(Photos: Bundesministerium der Verteidigung)

The only question is whether developments will allow the new army commander to display this model composure. The reform of the administration with all that involves is imminent and the proposed reduction of forces in Central Europe could have an indirect effect on the armed forces as a whole.

Ferber seems to have taken the ... from the whole question of "... leadership" during his term of office. ... the process of continuing change ... soon force the army to turn once again to the role of the individual soldier.

Christian Potyka

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 October 1973)

Services' universities opened in Munich and Hamburg

The two Bundeswehr universities in Hamburg and Munich opened their doors to the first batch of six hundred officers on 1 October. The project, planned by the Defence Ministry as a long-term solution to the notorious shortage of longer-serving officers in the armed forces, met a good deal of criticism at first.

Even the two former Defence Ministers Gerhard Schröder and Helmut Schmidt were at first unwilling to accept a scheme that would provide officer candidates with a free course of study and withdraw them from service for three years. But the shortage of lower-rank officers then prompted the Defence Ministry to give its assent to the scheme.

The armed forces will not be able to encourage officers to sign on for twelve to fifteen years without giving them a course of study that they will also be able to profit from in civvy street. The vast majority of professional officers decide to sign on for life.

So far the armed forces have not had to bear the full brunt of the promotion problems connected with this trend as a relatively small proportion of persons born between 1928 and 1937 actually volunteered — and it was this age group which was not conscripted.

Soldiers in this age range have had sufficient opportunities of promotion but in the following age group — those born between 1938 and 1942 — there has had to be an increase in the number of majors.

Science and the military have long been considered two mutually exclusive fields in Germany. The idea of attracting officer material by offering courses of study would not have been accepted so readily had it not been established practice elsewhere. Both the American astronauts and Russian cosmonauts have received scientific and military training.

Old-style military men will not be able to get used to the idea of a company commander delving into the depths of theory and perhaps disputing the plans of the general staff. The future graduates of the military academies will still probably be judged according to whether they can lead a group of men in manoeuvres.

But there are more reasons in favour of providing officers with a course of study than following foreign practice or the effect on recruiting figures. Far less criticism was directed against the course of study itself than against the proposal that the Bundeswehr should administer it. The opposing ranks included left-wing groups, student bodies, the Education

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and Science Trade Union and the West German Vice-Chancellors Conference.

The Bundeswehr was unable to make all that many allowances for the specific academic interests of universities and colleges. But it did have to take account of the twin demands of producing graduates within a short period and having their qualifications recognised by the Federal states' ministries of education.

The officers attending the study courses need have no fears concerning their present or future career. They will not have to face overcrowded lecture halls or laboratories and will not be taught by overworked professors. But, like their civilian counterparts, they will be called upon to display good performances.

The officers attending the courses can be certain of their monthly pay slip and promotion as they are soldiers ... during their period of study. The regulations governing the armed forces impose a number of restrictions upon them, mainly in regard to political activity, conduct while on duty and in public and their outward appearance.

If a group of students from Hamburg University plan a demonstration which might clash with the police they will not be able to count on the officers from the military academy taking part. Regulations rule out this eventuality.

The soldiers' obligation to maintain good conduct coupled with their ... course of study in the social sciences and the technical subjects required by the armed forces — mechanical or electrical engineering for example — has aroused left-wingers' fears of the emergence of a technocratic elite which could halt the long march through the institutions.

We shall not know whether there are any grounds for these fears until the first officer-students begin their march through the civilian institutions in 19... Attacks of this type often arouse the impression that they are directed generally against defence efforts.

If the armed forces take their defence role seriously they must ensure that they obtain good leadership material and train them in such a way that they can carry out their duties. The best method is evidently an academic course of study that pays as much attention to qualities of leadership and organisation as to technical knowledge.

The Bundeswehr is currently considering the many ways its officers can be ... later on in civilian life. In a number of years officers will be able to study ecology at the military academies. The Bundeswehr will then have its own environmentalists.

Hans-Anton Papendieck

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 1 October 1973)

■ RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Storm rages round the head of the Papal Nuncio

The attack on Wilhelm Kempf, the Bishop of Limburg, boomeranged — the letter in which Archbishop Corrado Bafile, the Apostolic Nuncio in Bonn, called for his dismissal was returned.

The first of the many expressions of sympathy for the Bishop — and criticism of Bafile — was a resolution by the Catholic Youth Association of the diocese of Limburg expressing its alarm about the Apostolic Nuncio's "incomprehensible" action against episcopal solidarity, and vouching for the fact that the Bishop "credibly represented the teachings of Christ".

The leak of Bafile's report to the Vatican has prompted public criticism of the position of the Papal Nuncio in general and the Vatican's secret diplomacy in particular.

The Vatican is evidently embarrassed by the whole affair. So far its only comment has been "No comment". The Nuncio's action has once agian encouraged discussion of Rome's legal position when appointing or dismissing clergy. Even convinced Catholics are joining in.

Archbishop Corrado Bafile has been Nuncio in Bonn since 1960. As papal legate, he finds himself in a dual role. Firstly, he is the Vatican's ambassador to Bonn and therefore enjoys diplomatic status.

On the other hand he is also the Pope's contact man with the Catholic Church in the Federal Republic. In this capacity he reports to Rome on grass-roots opinion and also informs the dioceses of decisions taken in Rome.

At the same time he acts as an inspector who constantly informs Rome of developments within the Church. But the Vatican rules that the Nuncio must carry out this role in the spirit of fraternal cooperation.

Limburg's Catholic Youth Association claims that Bafile has violated this ruling more than once — and not only on 26 August when he secretly sent his letter to Cardinal Villot, Secretary of State in the Vatican, calling for Kempf's dismissal.

Bafile raised the alarm — unique in modern Church history — because of what he described as the rapidly deteriorating situation in the diocese. He proposed that Kempf should first be given the chance to resign. If not an Apostolic Administrator could be appointed. Bafile suggested Reinhard Lattmann, the Suffragan Bishop of Münster.

People in the know claim that the Nuncio, considered an advocate of the conservative course, sent the letter at the instigation of consevative circles among the clergy in the Federal Republic.

The diocese of Limburg has long been a thorn in the flesh of the conservarives. The first official Church advice centre for conscientious objectors was set up in Limburg. Kempf refused to start disciplinary proceedings against a clergyman who allowed a young people's service to degenerate into a jive session.

Limburg's Catholic Youth Association was able to establish contacts with the Polish Pax Movement, considered as rivals to the Polish bishops, without Kempf imposing his veto.

Ecclesiastical committees in Limburg were made more democratic. The composition of priest, parish and synod committees was largely decided by election. Critics spoke of a Bolshevist system.

Kempf finally provoked his seniors by appointing Otto Franzmann, a convert from the Old Catholic Church, as head of the Maria Hilf parish in Frankfurt, even though he was married and had two children.

His critics claimed that the Bishop had reopened the debate on celibacy and the ordination of married men which the Vatican had just closed. Bafile wrote in his letter to Rome that believers worried about good order in the Catholic Church would greet the Bishop's dismissal with relief.

Dismissing a bishop is one of the trickiest problems faced by the Vatican. Bishops are appointed for life and the ecclesiastical law book *Codex Juris Canonici* makes no provisions for dismissal.

Professor Hermann of Münster, a specialist in ecclesiastical law, explains: "Church law is based on the assumption that holders of office are head and shoulders above the rest of the world. If a black sheep is found, the problem is usually dealt with secretly and without any fuss."

The Congregation of Bishops in Rome is responsible for examining problems of this type. It submits its recommendations to the Pope who has to take the final decision. There is no right of appeal.

This procedure is scarcely compatible with modern ideas about the law. But Church law has developed what Professor Hermann dubs an elegant solution.

The Codex rules that the Pope can appoint an administrator wherever there is need for one. The bishop in question is suspended though still remains a bishop in name.

The appointment of an administrator also involves the suspension of all other senior posts in the diocese, including that of the vicar general and the church councillors.

The Pope himself decides whether a situation is bad enough to warrant the appointment of an administrator. According to Church practice an administrator is usually appointed when a bishopric falls vacant.

This also includes cases of bishops being unable to visit certain parts of their diocese, as for instance Federal Republic bishops refused entry into the German Democratic Republic where parts of their diocese lie.

But this ruling can also apply when a bishop diverges from the official line. The last time this happened was 104 years ago when the Bishop of Rottenburg was replaced by an administrator after falling under the influence of a group of advisers.

According to the various concordats concluded the government of the country involved has to approve the appointment of an administrator.

Experts claim that the Kempf case is as good as over now that Bafile's letter has come to public attention. This leak rules out the possibility of an internal settlement.

The Nunciature announces that the letter of 26 August was no longer relevant by 28 August, the day on which Bafile informed Cardinal Döpfner of his action and the Cardinal indignantly condemned it.

Döpfner and Bafile agreed to clear up the affair in a "fraternal interview" with Kempf. This meeting has not yet taken place despite the alleged urgency of the situation.

Kempf himself has in the meantime stated that he is not planning to resign "for reasons of health". He is reported to be in excellent spirits and only wants to discuss the affair directly with the Congregation of Bishops in Rome.

Some 950,000 Catholics live in the diocese of Limburg, which is considered to be one of the wealthiest. The diocese also includes the South Hesse area which plays a leading role in internal discussions within the SPD. Kempf has revealed himself as a man of compromise in this situation.

Horst Zimmermann

(Der Tagesspiegel, 5 October 1973)

Nuncio's role arouses interest

Reports of the letter Archbishop Corrado Bafile, the Apostolic Nuncio in Bonn, has sent to the Vatican denouncing the Bishop of Limburg, Wilhelm Kempf, have increased public interest in the Nunciature.

As head of the Catholic Church, the Pope has the right, independent of all secular power, to send legates with and without episcopal powers to all parts of the world.

International law governs the Vatican's diplomatic activities and grants the Pope as a sovereign the right to appoint and receive legations. The ruling on status passed at the Congress of Vienna 1815 confirmed the tradition that the Nuncio is treated as the doyen of the diplomatic corps accredited in any capital.

The Nuncio, who is junior to the Secretary of State, the Vatican's foreign minister, has a twin role. He is responsible for diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the government to which he is accredited and at the same time supervises the Church in this State and informs the Vatican of any developments. He is also granted the power of absolution and dispensation.

According to the importance of a country to the Holy See, the Vatican establishes a Nunciature (equivalent to an embassy) or an Internunciature (equivalent to a consultate).

Legation heads in the most important capitals are traditionally appointed cardinal and are then termed pro-nuncios.

Nunciatures in the modern sense of the term have been known since 1500 when a "papal embassy" was established in Venice. One of the most famous nuncios of recent years was Eugenio Pacelli, later Pope Pius XII, who spent many years in Germany.

(Die Welt, 4 October 1973)

Cardinal Döpfner rules on priests' involvement in politics

Expressing its concern at the damage that priests could do to their Church by indulging in party political activities, the General Assembly of the Episcopal Conference in Fulda passed a resolution on 28 September forbidding priests from publicly professing party affiliations in future.

The resolution, made public by Cardinal Julius Döpfner, head of the Episcopal Conference, states that priests may become members of political parties as is their right as citizens, as long as the party does not pursue inhuman or anti-Christian aims.

Priests must not however work publicly within the party or for the interests or election of a party. Laymen employed by the Church must not refer to their position within the Church when taking a stance on party political issues.

This ruling can only be waived in extraordinary cases such as when human rights are violated. But the bishop's approval would also be needed in cases of this type. "Extraordinary cases of this kind do not exist in the Federal Republic of Germany today," the resolution states.

Cardinal Döpfner claimed that the resolution was not prompted by any specific event recently. The decision was based on past experience, he explained. He spoke of the churchmen in the Centre Party during the Weimar Republic and added that there are already indications of priests once again entering politics.

After four days of talks the general assembly of the Episcopal Conference approved a statement attacking violence and terror in the world and decided to submit it to the Pope and the United Nations. The United Nations is also called upon to set up an independent commission to investigate reports of torture.

Cardinal Döpfner supported the general assembly's initiative in this matter by stating that there were increasing indications that the "dictionary of inhumanity would be appearing in a

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second volume shortly". The political leadership of many States shunned no instrument of terror to deter citizens from opposition, he added.

The 65 German bishops also passed a resolution at their autumn conference in Fulda calling on the Danish government not to provide the film project *Jesus Christ's Love Affairs* with a grant of six hundred thousand krones. Not even during the National Socialist era was the name of Jesus Christ dragged into the dirt in this way, they complained.

The Episcopal Conference also decided to apply for membership of the Working Community of Christian Churches to which the Evangelical Church, the Salvation Army and the Old Catholics belong. So far the Catholic Church has only been represented by an observer.

Cardinal Hermann Volk, the Bishop of Mainz, was appointed liaison officer to the Evangelical Church. He succeeds Cardinal Lorenz Jaeger who has gone into retirement.

Finally, the conference approved an agreement providing the basis for close cooperation with the Old Catholics. Members of either Church are now entitled to ask a priest of the other Church for the sacraments of Eucharist, atonement or extreme unction.

Norbert Koch

(Die Welt, 29 September 1973)

■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Monetary union still a long way off

The European Economic and Monetary Union is going through protracted birth pangs. In the light of the disappointing balance of successes and failures in attempts to coordinate the economic and monetary policy of the EEC France, the Federal Republic and The Netherlands have been most reluctant to accept the proposals of the European Commission in Brussels for the transition to the planned second phase of the EMU on 1 January next year.

At meetings of the study group of the Council of Ministers to deal with the creation of the Union the governments of these three countries asked whether there was any point in embarking on far-reaching new political involvements before the end of the year when the proposed degree of integration scheduled for the first stage had not been carried through – though each government had different reasons for putting this rhetorical question.

Paris and Bonn are both in favour of a two-year phase of consolidation, while the Dutch government would like the period to be one year only.

In Brussels at present it is difficult to see whether the position of the three EEC countries is determined by solely tactical considerations designed to block massive political and financial demands by their partner countries.

Generally speaking one gets the impression that none of the governments is at present particularly interested in going through the transition to the second phase of monetary union, bearing in mind the tough negotiations still to be held at the Council of Ministers for which each country is jockeying for a better starting position.

The group of experts has for the time being set down the state of its deliberations in a working document that is being discussed by the ambassadors of the EEC countries. The first exchange of opinions on the Council of Ministers is scheduled for the end of October.

Observers in Brussels consider the objections raised to the Commission's suggestions to be significant, since they have come from three of the member governments which are at the heart of the group of countries involved in bloc floating.

Britain, Eire and Italy feel themselves forced into the "currency strictures" of the Community and cannot as a consequence take on the role of pacemaker when it comes to setting a faster rate of progress towards coordination of economic policies.

The participation of the three freely floating countries in the system of restricted currency bandwidths within the Community is regarded by France as the most important prerequisite for a formal transition of the EEC to the second stage of the Economic and Monetary Union.

Paris has made it clear in the past that it will only concur with the creation of the planned regional fund if the main benefactors of this fund – Britain, Italy and the Irish Republic – return to communal currency solidarity.

On the other hand these three countries, whose currencies float freely, have made their adherence to the other European currencies dependent on promises of closer currency support.

The motivation for the concern expressed in Bonn about a transition to the second phase of the EMU is said to be tha lack of progress in efforts to coordinate economic policies.

Bonn considers that the schedule drawn up for a gradual coordination of currency reserves, such as the Commission has suggested, provides for this to happen too soon.

The Federal government is doubtful whether the Commission's proposals for ensuring stability and full employment will bring sufficient binding obligations for effectual coordination of economic and budgetary policy.

At the very least Bonn would like to see the inclusion of an escape clause, which in an emergency would make it possible to renounce currency support for EEC partners.

Strengthening of democratic control procedures and the creation of Community authorities capable of making their own decisions are regarded by the Dutch as the essential prerequisite for the transference of new responsibilities and finances to the European Community.

(Die Welt, 4 October 1973)

Bonn takes precautions against a rainy day

The Bonn government and the Federal states are putting aside large sums in tax revenue to be used as a financial cushion in an emergency if the economic boom should level off.

About seven thousand million Marks have accumulated on special accounts at the Bundesbank in Frankfurt, and it is quite possible that a further milliard Marks will have been added to this by the end of the year.

But these monies have not been taken out of circulation by voluntary agreement. The main impetus behind the move has been the second programme of stabilisation of May this year.

It was agreed in May that the Federal government would freeze 700 million Marks of additional revenue. And Federal state governments agreed that any moneys saccruing above and beyond what had been budgeted for would either be used to cut the amount of government borrowing or be salted away in the Bank of Issue.

By the end of September one Federal state had made a contribution of [illegible] million Marks, but Bonn had already transferred 610 million Marks to Frankfurt.

Whenever the State collects money the process is called "the building of a new Julius Tower". This expression has been used since the days of the first Federal Finance Minister Fritz Schäffer and refers to an incident that actually occurred a century ago.

Following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71 France had to pay the newly formed German Reich war debts. The money was kept in a tower in Spandau, Berlin, under lock and key. For many years the French payments served as a war fund for the Reich.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 1 October 1973)

■ COMMON MARKET

EEC agriculture policy reformers have the wind taken out of their sails

There is disappointment for anyone who was hoping for a broadly based round of talks on reforms this autumn, having gained the impression that the communal agricultural policy had cracked up badly during the long-winded price discussions in Luxembourg in the spring.

Without much fuss and bother the agriculture Ministers of the European Community rejected the proposal for confidential talks on what must and what can be done to improve the Community agriculture policy at their first meeting after the summer recess.

Bonn Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl's proposal that a balance sheet of supplies on world farm-produce markets should be drawn up was also thrown out.

The whole idea of "reform" has been a cause of ill feeling in Brussels recently. The talk is all of "adjustments" and "improvements" since EEC Commissioner Lardinois, who is responsible for the agriculture policy, said at the beginning of September at the general meeting of the European Farmers Association: "Improvements in the communal agriculture policy are possible and essential. But this is not to say that the farm policy pursued in the past was wrong."

Unwillingness to see reform has been the hallmark for most of the colleagues of the former Dutch Agriculture Minister, who is now the executor of Sicco Mansholt's estate.

Just how important the subject of reform is to the nine Ministers was expressed by the acting President of the Council of Ministers, Denmark's Agriculture Minister Frederiksen, who presented the Council's schedule of work to be carried out by the end of the year. He said: "Discussion of reforms takes political priority, but is in no way under pressure of time."

M. Chirac, the French Agriculture Minister, seems to feel that even "adjustment" is going too far.

The European Commission's intention – stressed by Lardinois at the time the reform debate postponement was announced – to produce a report on possibilities for adjustment before October is out was underlined by him in these words: "Adjustments are not a matter of proposals and not a subject for far-reaching discussions — they are a question of mentality and attitudes."

Josef Ertl was upset that reforming zeal in the Community was moribund. But he said, "It's all the same to me if the others don't want it." At the conference of Agriculture Ministers of the Federal states he had told his colleagues that a reform of European farm policy from tip to toe was "politically irrelevant".

The change of tune came in the summer. In the past Agriculture Ministers have been plagued by surpluses. Now they found themselves facing a completely new situation. Foodstuffs and cattle fodder, in particular grain and powdered milk, became scarce the world over. In order to protect their own supplies the United States put export embargoes on soya beans and later on other farm produce.

Although Europe was shocked by the action the Americans took, as Lardinois said when putting the EEC's case in Washington, they did not let the bad example set by the Americans prevent them resorting to trade restrictions themselves.

Inflated EEC agricultural funds

(In milliard Marks)

1973: 14.2
1972: 10.5
1971: 7.3

Payments made in 1972

West Germany	30%
Italy	25%
France	24%
Holland	12%
Belgium/Lux	9%

The export ban on rice had been in force for quite some time, and this was followed by the decision of the European Commission in August to stop the sales of durum wheat and soft wheat.

This was designed to prevent the speculative buying and selling of wheat on world markets at prices sometimes fifty per cent above those set by the EEC, so as to maintain Europe's supplies and stabilise prices on the domestic market.

Even before the European Commission had made use of the powers vested in it by the Council of Ministers there was a round of applause from the protectionists and autarchists.

"The myth of surplus production has been killed off," COPA, the committee of professional agricultural organisations, announced triumphantly in July.

And at the beginning of September COPA said of the Brussels agricultural policy: "Community price mechanisms have made it possible, despite developments on world markets, to supply to 260 million consumers at stable and reasonable prices and to guarantee these prices."

In fact the situation was different here from that in the United States, where the shortages of grain on the world market hit the domestic market squarely between the eyes and pushed up shop prices for bread to giddy heights. By and large consumers in the European Economic Community were sheltered from such effects.

This is an advantage that Europe's consumers can thank the EEC agricultural protection system for, even though it was dreamt up not for the consumers but the farmers.

For as long as there is plenty of grain all over the world the farmers alone benefit from the system of protected prices. It is the taxpayer and consumer who has to pay for the system whereby high prices are guaranteed and European farmers are protected from foreign competition.

But if the situation on the world market alters drastically and shortages push prices up steeply Europe is unaffected by this for as long as domestic production is sufficient to meet European needs and imports are not essential. The United States first felt the pinch last November, but Europe has still not reached crisis point.

For want of other evidence Lardinois was able to point to the effect of the EEC agriculture policy as it benefited the consumer – viz 'the current situation'. He said that in the light of the ups and downs on the world market 'the joint agriculture policy brings more advantages to the consumer than the producer'.

For the sacrifice that they make for the consumer Europe's farmers (who could after all sell their grain on the world market at higher prices) should now be compensated by a minimal number of reforms.

These are the reform proposals that Lardinois has put to the European Commission:

- Regulations governing the farm-produce market in Europe, at present set out in a confusing tangle of individual provisions should be collated, analysed and made more comprehensible.
- The price support system for milk and grain should be amended.
- Producers should have a financial responsibility for the expenses involved in selling off surpluses.

One of the main things to be simplified is the market regulations for grain. With the cutting of special intervention prices for individual trade areas a "reasonable price gap" is to be brought about and the flow of commodities from areas where they are produced to excess to areas where they are in short supply should follow automatically.

In the case of dairy products a further lowering of the EEC butter price (at present 644 Marks per 100 kilograms) is being weighed up. This in conjunction with obligatory consumer subsidies should help to run down the butter mountain.

Prices for powdered fat-reduced milk would be raised. The participation of the producer in the sale of surpluses would be carried out by means of a levy on the milk supplied to dairies. The amount of this levy would depend on how great the excess was. Proceeds from this would be used to advertise butter.

At the first round of European Commission debates Lardinois gained sway against those who were in favour of alterations in principle such as Signor Spinelli and Sir Christopher Soames, who championed the idea of direct income supplements instead of pricing measures.

According to his colleagues' calculations direct income supplements in the nine-strong Community would require considerably more funds than the present market and pricing policy.

Lardinois was supported surprisingly by the Federal Agriculture Ministry headed by his friend Josef Ertl, whose economic advisory council supported this thesis. Direct income supplements will prove expensive and a drain on the national economy if farmers' incomes are not to drop, and they will be even more expensive in the final analysis because of their high administrative costs. The complicated administrative procedure would also make them difficult to manage.

The Dutchman also received support for his policy of dabbing paint rather than completely redecorating from the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO). The world supply of grain has dropped to thirty million tons, its lowest level since 1952. This year's harvest will not be sufficient to fill the world's depleted granaries.

Supply shortage myth

It would be very shortsighted of the Community to give way to autarchy within the EEC, believing the myth of the shortage in supply.

Between 1958 and 1969 the EEC's rate of self-supply of foodstuffs has increased from 91 to 96 per cent. By 1980 it will be about 98 per cent.

If one takes into account the sales guarantees offered the sugar-producing islands in the Caribbean and Pacific and the New Zealanders for butter by Britain the rate of self-supply in the Nine should be 99 per cent by 1980.

If the annual rate of increase in farm produce remains at three per cent as in the last ten years it will be half as much again after thirteen years. Thus worse surpluses are more likely than shortages.

World market shortages have robbed reformers of their best argument against rising expenditure on farm produce. As the Community does not have to pay any more export subsidies for grain the burden next year should be 300 million units fewer (about 1,000 million Marks).

Reformers who have not given up must hope for renewed currency unrest in the next few months leading to a further crumbling of the agriculture market, so that a far-reaching reform becomes essential. After the revaluation of the guilder Josef Ertl stated that it would be interesting to see what happens next year.

Hans-Hagen Bremer
(Die Zeit, 5 October 1973)

DIE ZEIT

EEC countries should close borders to GDR products

European Economic Community countries have agreed that the Federal Republic should continue regarding the German Democratic Republic as German territory. This is confirmation of the continuance of the system whereby customs duties are not levied on intra-German trade, even though the EEC's overseas trade duties should really apply.

Since 1957 there has been a special clause in the EEC treaties settling the question of intra-German trade and the Community. EEC countries fear that GDR goods may be imported duty free to the Federal Republic and then be re-exported without duty to other EEC countries.

Statistics show that 97 per cent of the goods imported from the other part of Germany remain in the Federal Republic. But this basic treaty provides for the development of trade between the two Germanies.

It has been agreed by the EEC Council of Ministers that the Federal Republic should continue to handle its trade links with East Germany as in the past and that the other EEC countries should conclude a joint trade treaty with the GDR.

A Community treaty that does not cover all member countries is not completely new. The "verification agreement" with the International Atomic Energy Authority was signed without France's participating.

Now it is being said in Brussels that the intra-German question is not so clear-cut as was the regulating of atomic weaponry. At private talks the French Foreign Minister said that every EEC member should reserve the right to protect itself from indirect imports from the GDR via West Germany.

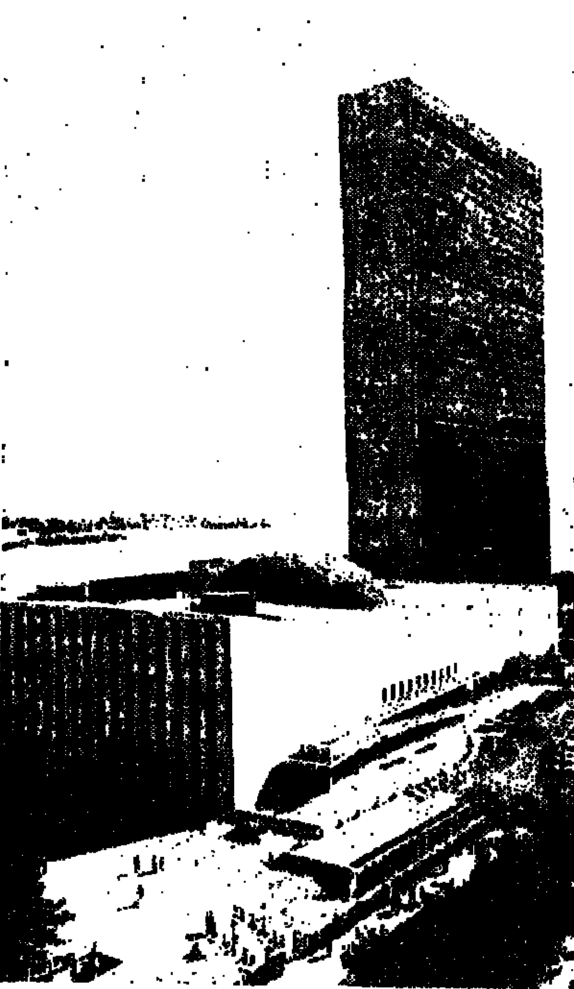
In other words borders should be closed to East German goods if these competed with home-produced items.

However, this is detrimental to the Community which has set out to remove all frontier restrictions within its own borders. It will be interesting to see how long this political division remains tolerable.

Hermann Bohle
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 September 1973)

Brandt and Scheel at the UN

A DIARY IN PICTURES



























(Photos: Marianne von der Lancken)

■ THE ARTS

Peter Hacks' latest play produced at Göttingen

A few golden-coloured paper stars hang from the blue-black firmament, a green-meadowed landscape with rolling countryside crosses stage. A small garden marked out by rocks contains trees that are obviously stage props. One of them bears the all-important apple. Adam and Eve, clad in green body-tights to give them the naked look, sleep the sleep of the Garden of Eden.

But the garden is surrounded by an oxygen tent. As round as the world, God would say. More like an oval, the Archangel Gabriel, his first creation, would retort. But the artificial trees, the green man and woman and the tent that represents the world are not well-matched, however much they may be based on mediaeval models.

God descends to Earth accompanied by music that is more reminiscent of a church than the universe. The vehicle in which he travels dressed like the saint of a Sunday School stamp is more like a stage prop than a divine chariot. The Archangel Gabriel who hovers in from the wings is as stiff and golden as an angel on a Christmas tree.

God asks his angel what he thinks of the world and the angel hesitates in much the same way as Socias is reluctant to tell his master Amphitryon the truth. But if the actor playing this Gabriel-cum-Sosias part really wanted to be a Peter Hacks figure he should not pretend to be a Molière-style Sosias who suddenly finds himself in the prose role of the servant Sganarelle in *Don Juan*.

No, on the contrary, he ought to speak in rhyme, Hacks' rhyme which in his latest comedy *Adam and Eve* is even more polished, even more sing-song, even more skilful and interrupted and stimulated by more irony than in previous Hacks plays. But we shall return to this later.

After all, we have only progressed to the prologue. But this was sufficient at the play's premiere in Göttingen's Deutsches Theater to recognise the incredible confusion of primeval atmosphere and trashy pictures of creation, the far-flung range of dialectic arguments and the more home-spun dialogue, human message and fairy-tale and stage magic and conventional tricks.

A skilfully reinterpreted story about the expulsion from paradise sometimes emerged shame-faced from this confusion. Before the final curtain there was even a moral to point at: "You are right, Mankind." But where did this moral suddenly come from? What was connection with the two-hour paradise playlet that had casually continued with such complaisance and coquetry?

Peter Hacks finished writing his comedy *Adam and Eve* in the autumn of 1972. Shortly afterwards he wrote an essay about his work on the play, his intentions and his difficulties.



A scene from Hacks' *Adam and Eve* produced in Göttingen (Photo: Irene Ka…)

Hacks, who cannot always be taken at his word even in this essay, closed with a Milton quotation that is supposed to typify both *Adam and Eve* and *Paradise Lost*. It is the quotation about the song which, although subjective, sounded so fine that even Hell was astonished.

Hacks is the only playwright we have to deal with in this article and his song of *Adam and Eve* is subjective and fine. Subjective above all. Hacks departed more and more from "revolutionary" writing during the course of the sixties.

His State, the German Democratic Republic, has its revolution behind it. Hacks, the poet of this State, has developed a post-revolutionary drama. "The subject of modern art is the relationship between Utopia and reality. There is no other way for Utopia to exist than in the reality that gradually develops towards it. The only state of perfection attainable by reality is the process of self-perfection, in other words … imperfect state."

Hacks wrote this in 1966 in the preface of *Das Poetische*. *Adam and Eve* is in my opinion the most convincing …

Continued on page 11

Hans Scharoun's latest project – a theatre in Wolfsburg

Hans Scharoun's most esoteric stroke of genius – Berlin's Philharmonic Hall – was completed ten years ago in October 1963. Wolfsburg Theatre, his most recent project, has just opened its doors.

But Hans Scharoun, an architect who was the outsider of the Bauhaus generation, no longer lived to see his latest plans completed. He died last autumn at the age of 79.

Wolfsburg, the home of Volkswagens and a conglomeration of various architectural styles, now possesses its second architectural curiosity and one which makes the city well worth visiting.

Alvar Aalto, the Finnish architect, won a competition organised by the city in the fifties with his plans for a cultural centre and was able to start building.

Hans Scharoun too won a competition and he too can start building. This is not so obvious as it sounds. Scharoun's bold plans for theatres in Mannheim and Kassel were awarded prizes though never put into effect.

His former plans always fell victim to the provincial attitude of local authorities and during his lifetime he was never able to achieve his wish of building a theatre specially made for the people who come there to act or be entertained.

His "posthumous" work in Wolfsburg is a beautifully balanced and remarkably enough conventional theatre. It appears to be a compromise between Scharoun's imaginative Utopian ideas from the days when he fought for the principle of organic construction and his desire, matured by old age, to pay tribute to reality. Wolfsburg wanted a multi-purpose hall which could also be used for congresses organised by the Volkswagen Foundation.

The small Wolfsburg Theatre immediately reminds the observer of the mighty Philharmonic Hall in Berlin. But the comparison is unfair. Berlin's demands – "music with walls" – were completely different from Wolfsburg's – "walls for words". The central feature of Wolfsburg Theatre is its auditorium and stage with its classical beauty and complete intimacy.

Scharoun opted self-confidently for simple materials, a blessing after all the buildings we have seen covered with aluminium and synthetics. Both seats and walls are made of light ashwood. The ceiling forms a contrast with is strict lines and hemp-coloured hue.

Technology and acoustics are given priority over the purely visual aspect. Large glass-fibre sound reflectors hang on the walls like giant bats. Because of the acoustic element, the chair backs in the circle are higher than in the stalls. Scharoun has dispensed with the conventional-style boxes and even people in the back row of the circle are near the stage.

Scharoun, despite all his avantgarde ideas, was unable to dispense with the peep-hole type of theatre but he did try to overcome the barrier between stage and auditorium. The orchestra pit can be raised to form an apron and the steps leading down from the circle form a visual connection. All the seats can be reached from the interior area.

One new feature as far as theatres in this country are concerned is the 65-square-metre window in the auditorium to let in the daylight. Scharoun decorated it with a trellis pattern for aesthetic reasons.

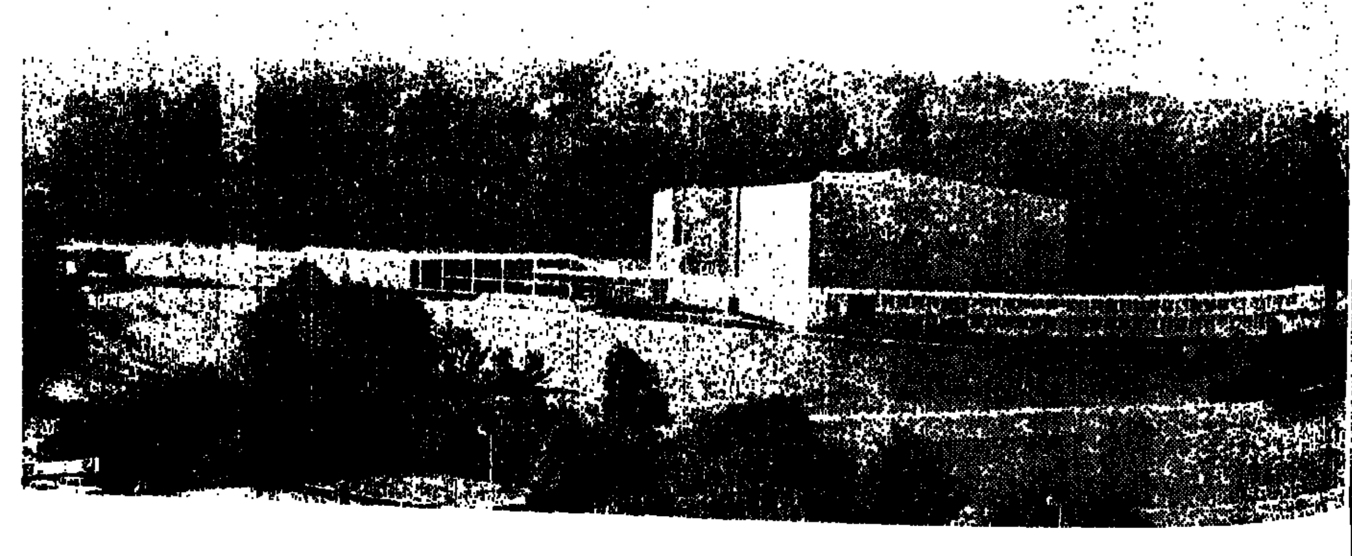
Scharoun has also introduced other Baroque elements. The steps are adorned with balustrades of decorative iron covered with gold and the six pillars in the foyer are also covered with a golden bronze.

The foyer is unsually long and its glass facade opens out on to the town. The cloakrooms and a restaurant can be found on the other side. Scharoun always wanted to give people plenty of space to walk and think about the play they had been watching, his colleagues claim.

The external form of the only theatre that Scharoun has ever built arises on the one hand from its function. But its setting on the edge of a proposed park also plays a decisive role. Scharoun integrated the theatre into the landscape. He based his design on an East-West axis following the line of a wood.

The Berlin Philharmonic Hall has only just solved the problem of what to do with its facade. The same problem did not arise in Wolfsburg. Scharoun wanted a white stone but the town refused to pay the costs. He therefore settled for a pale yellow travertine, a natural stone, and placed on top of it a royal crown surrounded by a light grey robe.

The theatre that the city of Wolfsburg has built for 25 million Marks does both it and the theatrical world honour. It is so far proving extremely attractive. A number of ensembles have announced their desire to play there and performances in the early part of the new season are fully booked.



(Photo: Fritz R…)

Eva Ruthenfranz

(Die Welt, 2 October 1973)

■ THINGS SEEN

Art exhibitions in Cologne and Düsseldorf

KKM and IKI have been like brothers up in arms along the banks of the Rhine. KKM was the (7th) Cologne Art Market and IKI the (3rd) International Art Fair in Düsseldorf.

Such was the rivalry that there was talk of applying for an injunction. But shortly before the two exhibitions of contemporary art were due to open agreement was reached on a scanty, jointly framed communiqué to the press, designed to procure an angry peace for the days on which these two exhibitions were running.

The conflicts of interest that existed would not, it was decided, be hammered out in court. Instead there was to be cooperation and in future the dates of the two fairs were to be jointly decided.

Thus there was no discussions of minutiae and any other information released was vague. Art managers and art potentates for the most part expressed the view that it was not such a bad thing to draw up clear fronts at long last between isolated market exclusivity – in Cologne – and free market business in expansive environs, as in Düsseldorf at the "Neue Messe".

Just what were the details of this contrasting picture in the autumn of 1973? At Cologne's Kunsthalle and in he rooms of the Cologne Kunstverein forty galleries presented the offerings of 532 artists. Thirteen of these galleries were foreign. Last year with 43 galleries participating the turnover was five million Marks.



Le cri painted by URSULA (Schultze-Bluhm) in 1972 (Photo: Katalog)

The sponsor of the KKM is the "Association of Progressive German Art Dealers". This year for the first time the Association awarded its own prize to an official backer of contemporary arts. The Association chose Willen J.H.B. Sandberg, for many years the Curator of the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam.

Exclusivity of works on exhibition was the hallmark of the KKM. Galleries mostly concentrate on just a few artists who seem to them to be important. Thus the selection of what is put on show is the free choice of each gallery proprietor. In order to make the scope of the material as a whole more easy to scan each of the galleries participating concentrated their works in a certain room.

It was noticeable on the surface of it that in certain departments the tableau was much in evidence. Object Art and Grotesqueries appear to be on the wane, and were occasionally not in evidence at all. In Halls 10 to 12 at the Düsseldorfer Neue Messe the observer is struck by the prodigiousness of the artists and gallery owners. Three hundred and eleven gallery owners from this country and abroad have pumped their spectacular collections of modern art into this the largest of the showpiece fairs of modern art.

Last year we hear that this onslaught produced a turnover of fourteen million Marks. Boasting of successes in this way is part and parcel of the business of running fairs of this kind. It is in no way *dégoûtant*.

Those in the know when it comes to modern art have their doubts about whether there were really sales of nineteen million Marks-worth of art on the banks of the Rhine last autumn.

Time and again we hear about attempts to bring home modern art to the ordinary man with exhibitions such as the mammoth show in Düsseldorf. With this large supply of modern art it is attempted to create interest, but as prices continue to rocket the whole idea is reduced to absurdity.

At the moment public musueums and galleries are struggling along with budgets tha have been frozen, so just who is responsible for creating this massive turnover in modern art.

It can only be the mythical beast known as the private collector. Indeed for him there is a supply of the classical and provocative modern art the like of which has never been known before.

A dramatic climax to this whole trend is reached in Düsseldorf with the Picasso head, produced during his Cubist period. This painting from he Schmela Gallery is offered at 2,500,000 Marks!

And elsewhere people's money is splashed around fairly generously. Two very similar works by the artist Domenico Gnoli from Rome are offered at 200,000 and 250,000 Marks.

In Cologne as in Düsseldorf the preponderance is for smaller and medium-sized pictures. The Düsseldorf Fair, which is also entitled "Market for Topical Art", defies all aesthetic protests by offering kitschy Symbolists from the late nineteenth century and has been having another go at testing the marketability of Hans Makart. Thus the market for modern art is expected to swing away from its present clamouring for topicality back to the fields of "nostalgia".

The catalogue of the Düsseldorf fair with its 600 pages is evidently not designed as a companion for anyone walking through the halls.

Safety's the word

In Cologne too a greater degree of aristocracy is shown in this sphere. The catalogue for the KKM offers a number of basic essays on the situation on the contemporary art market.

Safety, even in the art world, appears to be the new slogan. We see in slogan form the new fashion of Surrealism with its ramifications stretching to fantastic art.

Constructivism and Neo-Constructivism are enjoying renewed popularity to the same degree as the expansion of the Naive. Classical Modern commands top prices – small works by Kandinsky and Marc are on sale by a Munich gallery for [illegible] Marks.

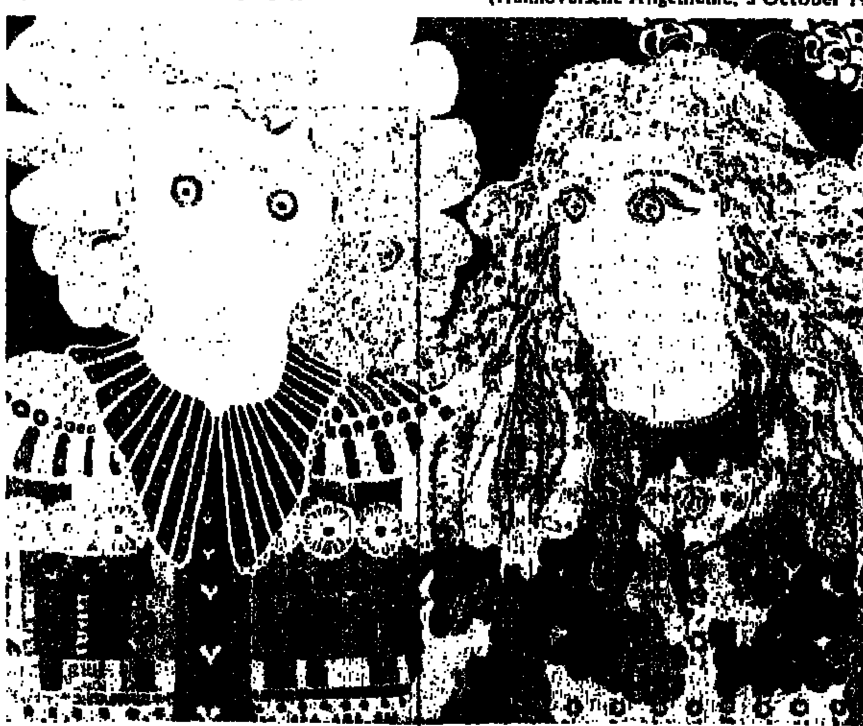
At Düsseldorf Kunsthalle there is an exhibition "Prospekt 73" running parallel to the art markets. This has the title "Maler, Painters, Peintres" and includes about one hundred new works by forty contemporary artists.

Here we can see clearly the reaction to the great propaganda wave of the *documenta* Realists in the making. Eighteen galleries specialising in the avantgarde are taking part in this "pilot exhibition", as Kunsthalle curator Jürgen Harten described it.

Once again there is a chance that the last of the informal epoch shall be the first of the new introverted monochrome phase, which we can see in embryonic form here with the tableaux of 1973.

Wolfgang Stauch-von Quitzow

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 3 October 1973)



Akmen's *Noces à Londres* (Photo: Katalog)

Continued from page 10

… significant transformation of this theory into practice (into his practice, that of literature).

A rather daring interpretation of the drama would claim that Archangel Gabriel is only able to see Utopia. That is a limitation, which is also reflected in the comic elements.

God on the other hand is omnipresent and omniscient and has catered for "original sin" (what Gabriel would call the departure from Utopia) in his plans for creation. Utopia only exists in a reality that gradually develops towards it. Original sin is the first real step forward in the development of Mankind, the first real step forward on the path towards self-perfection. That is why Hacks' God closes the play by saying. "No, Mankind, you are right. Go your way."

God has created a principle to lead Mankind from the Utopia of Paradise via the path of reality to another Utopia. Hacks incorporates this principle in the figure of Satanael.

He is the "spirit who always negates", a successor to Goethe's Mephistopheles. But although his position in the dialectic framework is the same, the line he follows is different in content. The path that Hacks shows as leading to Utopia via reality is that of a consistent Socialism calling for permanent change.

But at this point the contradictions and inconsistencies emerge. How far has Hacks departed from what he claims to transport by aspiring to the paradise-like heights of poetry?

What possibility is there in *Adam and Eve* of finding reality (and not a general sceptical or optimistic striving into an unknown future)?

To what extent has Hacks removed his fine verse to a Nirvana where he views drama as a "celebration of human possibilities, a display of riches obtained or obtainable and the pride of Man in himself"?

How far has his "Classicism" become more than ever a symptom of the conditions leading to the establishment of the German Democratic Republic?

Stephan Stroux's production of the play in Göttingen and Wolf Münzner's stage design stressed the Christmas fairy-tale aspects. Might it not have been objective criticism of Hacks who once again sets out to express great things in a great way and ignores the minor aspects of reality? This would not have been criticism of socialist Utopia but scepticism as to the means of depicting the path towards it.

But Stroux failed to take advantage of this opportunity. *Adam and Eve* was the eighth play of Hacks to be performed in Göttingen's Deutsches Theater. This is a saga in itself.

Gerd Jäger

(Die Zeit, 5 October 1973)

Ivo Hauptmann dies

Painter Ivo Hauptmann died in Hamburg at the age of 87. Hamburg was his home from 1913 on, and in 1949 he was a founder member of the Secession.

The eldest son of dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann, he was born in Berlin in 1886. After the Second World War he taught at the state art college in Hamburg (now the Academy of Graphic Arts). In 1963 he received the Edwin Scharff Prize.

In his early years Ivo Hauptmann came under the influence of Paul Signac and Pointillism. Hauptmann met Signac in Paris when he was studying there at the age of seventeen. Later on he became a disciple of Lovis Corinth in Berlin and Ludwig von Hofmann in Weimar.

In his Weimar days he met Edvard Munch and was influenced by him. Many exhibitions of Hauptmann's work have been held, for instance in Hamburg in 1957, Heidelberg and Duisburg in 1958 and Hamburg again in 1962 and 1964.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 29 September 1973)

■ MEDICINE

Computers move into medicine to aid not supplant the doctor

Views differ concerning the use of computers in the field of medicine. Pessimists paint the gloomy picture of a dehumanised health service in which doctors are gradually replaced by electronic brains. Optimists hope that doctors will be freed from their tedious administrative work and so have more time for their patients. The danger of doctors making a mistake cannot be lessened. I cannot yet be judged for certain which side is right as medicine only discovered the merits of the computer a few years ago.

Every year some five hundred new diseases are discovered throughout the world. There are already well over thirty thousand clearly defined syndromes and the figure will more than double in the next twenty years. These complaints can be diagnosed by means of almost two hundred thousand different symptoms and this figure too is constantly on the increase.

But it is not only the number of different diseases that impose such a strain on the individual doctor's memory. There are an estimated sixty thousand drugs available in the Federal Republic, all with their own specific effects and side-effects.

Medical knowledge doubles every fifteen years or so. But the average doctor in the Federal Republic is 57 years old and has been practising for thirty years. In other words, when he passed his medical exams three quarters of what is known today was still undiscovered.

The flood of new information is channelled through just under fourteen thousand medical journals which publish close on one million separate articles every year. That amounts to 2,700 articles a day. It goes without saying that this figure too is constantly increasing.

Let us stay with the average doctor. He would have to spend thirteen hours a day for twelve years reading medical journals in order to catch up on developments in one specialist sector since he took his final examinations. But medical knowledge would have almost doubled in these twelve years.

General practitioners cannot specialise in one particular branch of medicine and they face an almost hopeless struggle if they are to keep up with new developments. Private files containing everything they may one day need but cannot commit to memory would soon outgrow a normal practice.

Electronic data-processing can provide effective help in such cases. Central data banks can store all available medical information, the various symptoms, the diseases they can indicate and the composition and effects of all drugs on the market. Doctors could obtain any information they needed via a monitor installed in their practice.

The system could have a second stage added to it. Doctors would then feed information about their patients — their medical history, the methods of treatment employed, the prescribed drugs and their effect — into the central computer.

One advantage of this system would be that doctors would have important information such as drug compatibility at their fingertips in case of accident or other eventuality.

Can a computer therefore replace a doctor completely by supplying diagnoses? It cannot for a large number of reasons. It can only confirm the doctor's diagnosis. Treatment by computer belongs to the realms of science fiction.

Professor Leiber, head of Frankfurt University's "Documentation and Research Department for Clinical Nosology and Semiotics", recently explained why at a seminar arranged by the computer firm Sperry Univac. Nosology incidentally is the nomenclature and classification of diseases while semiotics deals with the symptoms.

Professor Leiber, a paediatrician, claims that he is halfway towards becoming a computer specialist. At present he is gaining experience in this sector by trying to feed information about some sixty thousand links between symptoms and syndromes into a computer.

He describes the difficulties posed by language, terms and definitions as extremely great. The technical equipment exists for such a task — described as specialists as hardware. The major difficulty here as in other sectors lies with the programming, the software.

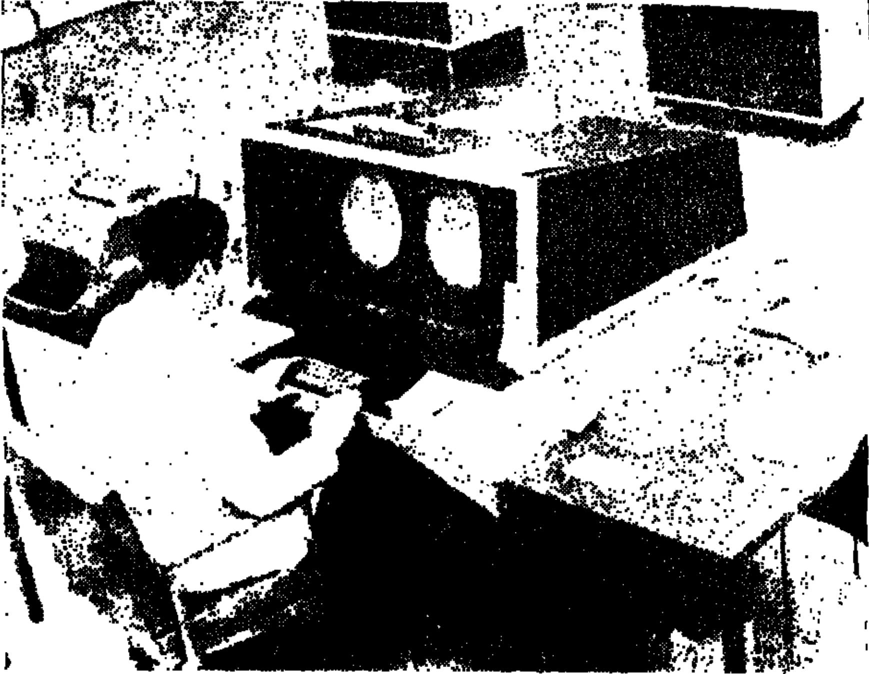
But even if this problem is solved in he near future and the computer has a store of all necessary data in the best possible form, it would still be a long way before a diagnosis could be made electronically as the information emerging in the doctor-patient sector before the computer processing system would need to be of the same high quality as the stored programme. There are no solutions in sight to this problem.

The usefulness of the information the doctor feeds into the computer depends amongst other things on whether the patient is able to provide the doctor with a more or less accurate description of his complaint, on whether the doctor enjoys his complete confidence, has recognised all the symptoms occurring and has been able to describe them succinctly.

At the same time it must be taken into account that few symptoms can be measured and described with corresponding accuracy. Things become difficult when the doctor has to express smells, feelings and visual and aural perception in such a way that the computer can cope with the information.

Professor Leiber believes that the loss of information can amount to as much as ninety per cent as the doctor has to convert his findings into a linguistically clear form that the computer will understand.

Only minor changes can be expected. Professor Leiber's department for instance is trying to find the average German face by means of picture statistics. Once this has been discovered, divergences from the norm caused by disease can be described in a form intelligible to a computer.


A computer programmed to help doctors in operation (Photo: Keystone)

Even a system involving only the face is extremely complicated. One average face is not enough. You need the average faces of a twenty-year-old male, a fifty-year-old woman or a four-week-old baby boy for instance. On top of this, the average form of complaints reflected by the form of the face must also be calculated.

Even this would not satisfy anything like the basic conditions for computer diagnosis. This state of affairs will probably never change as doctors will always fail to recognise individual symptoms — the most widespread diseases today have between ten and thirty individual symptoms — and not describe others correctly.

Even the most perfect computer system — and there is no such thing as a perfect computer today — would be unable to piece together a proper picture of the complaint if the information it is fed is incomplete and in some cases incorrect.

Computers cannot produce complete diagnoses today, nor will they be able to in the foreseeable future for that matter. They can help doctors make a diagnosis by storing a wealth of information that human memory would be unable to remember and supplying this data when required.

Computers could even quiz doctors about whether various specific symptoms were in evidence in cases where they are given incomplete information. This would provide doctors with an additional aid as they can easily overlook individual symptoms when faced with so many. It must be emphasised that this cannot be equated in any way with a lack of medical expertise.

A central medical computer system could both help the doctor with his diagnoses and take over a series of important though time-wasting responsibilities. Professor Leiber named a few of the more important:

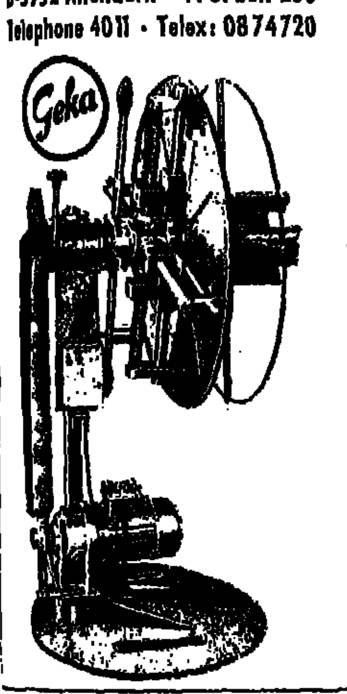
- Diagnosis administration system: Information about patients' previous medical history, hospital reports or specific risk factors could be obtained at any time of the day or night from any public or private telephone.
- Appointments system: The computer could send patients appointment cards during their period of treatment, arrange the doctor's personal timetable, organise emergency and night services and ensure that a deputy is always available when a doctor goes on holiday.
- Accounts: computers can be entrusted with the financial aspects of a doctor's practice and work out his tax bills and the amount of money he is to receive from the medical insurance schemes. Instead of relying on the quarterly statement of accounts now usual the doctor could obtain information about his financial situation at any time and thus gain a better idea of whether his practice is economically viable or not.
- Hospital beds control: With the help of a computer doctors would be able to find out immediately where a hospital bed was avaiblable for a particular case without having to take long delays into account or wasting time telephoning a number of hospitals.
- Patient/drug information: computers could provide information in every individual case about effects, countereffects, incompatability and dosage, keep a check on prescriptions and under certain circumstances even compile individual dietary plans.
- Automatic laboratory system: The results of all measurements such as electrocardiogrammes as well as laboratory analyses can be registered automatically, their quality and plausibility checked and the information added to the patient's files.

Because of the high costs involved, if for no other reason, a complex medical computer system of this type could only be built up as a joint venture on the part of all medical practitioners in this country.

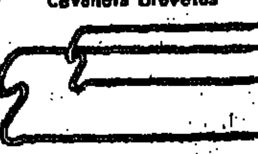
Apart from the question of finance, a number of other problems have still to be solved. Technology poses the least difficulty. It is far more complex to translate medical knowledge into computer language and allocate the stored data to the individual patients without making a mistake. It is still not certain how this private information can be protected from abuse. Doctors will have to adapt to what is now technologically possible and it is no exaggeration to claim that computers will change medicine.

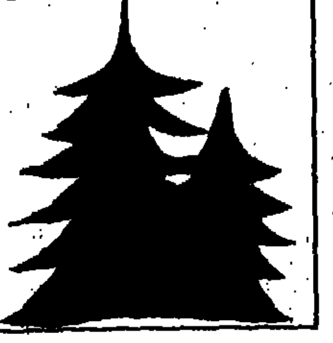
J. Schmitz-Feuck

(Kolner Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 September 1973)









■ OUR WORLD

A devotion to detail at Kulmbach's lead soldiers museum

Adolph von Menzel, who knows what he is about when it comes to uniforms, was mistaken. With apologies, but in one of his pictures a Frederick the Great grenadier has two too many buttons on his jacket. A year before the period of the painting the uniform was altered in minor details.

Not everyone observes such matters, but there is an increase in the number of people who would notice such a detail and discuss the ins and outs of it for hours. They are the collectors of lead figures, mainly lead soldiers, who every two years hold an exchange mart at Kulmbach.

Those who are members of the association given the odd name *Clio* (the muse of history) - the association of lead figure collectors and another independent association -- are just the tip of the iceberg. This is proved by the endless flow of figures offered, series made in professional or semi-professional workshops by people in the thousand-long register of the association but also the crowds of individuals who collect lead figures.

They have probably only given a passing glance to the activities of *Clio*, but over the details of history that are indisputable they are well informed. They know all about the advance of the Ist Prussian Corps in the evening of the battle of Gravelotte, everything concerning the first Olympic Games in Ancient Greece, everything about rococo gardens, pastoral dances, cockfight or the harem of the last Sultan of The Porte.



A tableau of tin soldiers in battle in the Punic Wars

Understanding history

Part and parcel of their interest is a deep understanding of history equivalent to that a university professor would have to have. It is essential to paint the small figures with such exact detail that they will pass muster when eyed critically by fellow experts.

Literary sources play an important role at the Kulmbach exchange mart. A publishing house that produces an album facisimile which shows figures that appeared in the pictures given away with cigarette packets thirty years ago knows he will have no difficulty finding buyers even though the price is 130 Marks per copy, because the full Colour illustrations include details of German military uniforms of years ago.

The famous Nuremberg bookseller Heinrich Fritz who carries stocks of thousands of such volumes knows full well that he will sell his books.

Thanks to these literary sources a Kulmbach craftsman has an exact knowledge of the details of a certain battle, long since forgotten. He would be able to tell an enquirer all he wants to knows about the 200-strong posse, about their equipment down to the last sash. He would know all about the commanders, the orders given at a precise time and the rations given to the soldiery.

At the Plassenburg museum of lead soldiers, in Kulmbach, without question the largest of its kind in the world, the lead soldiers are on display by their thousands standing on green hessian cloth. Notices neatly written are placed beside the figures explaining them.

Architect Eckart Kudlich has converted the manificent castle where the Hohenzollern archives used to be stored into a modern museum for the collection. The renovations are such that a visitor would never think that once the castle was centuries ago a prison and a place where prisoners of war were incarcerated.

The shelves have been enlarged so that the periods which the lead soldiers represent can be better illustrated. In this way figures that have been carved by a craftsman long since dead are included among the lead examples. It is hoped to extend the project to include figures made from sugar and to establish an "experimental room" for contemporary figures. Collectors hope to put an end to the image generally held of them that they are just a little unbalanced. The president of the Clio association has said that nowadays not too many people take them seriously, amidst certain murmurs of protest from members.



A military band of the time of Frederick the Great giving a concert

(Photos: Deutsches Zinnfiguren-Museum)

One of the craftsmen said he was making a series of figures that showed Frederick II arriving at Berlin's Silesian railway station after the second Silesian war.

This has in fact no more significance than that the lead soldiers would be exact in every detail.

The most attractive piece in the series is a Bavarian light cavalryman of 1812 produced in the famous Haffner workships in Nuremberg which costs 140 Marks. A trumpeter wearing his best uniform costs 120 Marks.

The classical form is to have the 3 centimetre tall figures flat. They can be bought for small sums but the painting costs a small fortune and lasts a long time, at least if one does it oneself.

Engravers are becoming rarer all the time. They have to cut out the form in schist, but the men who used to supply this material have had to close up because they could not make the work pay. Italian firms are still in the business, however.

The most talented engraver is an outsider, an electrical engineer from Aachen, who gets so many orders that he is not able to fulfill them all. A Karlsruhe goldsmith discovered his talent. He specialises in minute figures.

General Frithjof Heyse, who recently died, left a collection of 50,000 lead soldiers, all painted. The gift had been displayed on the stairway.

But despite these additions to Kulmbach people who are fanatical collectors of lead soldiers are not solely interested in military matters. They are more interested in precision, in being exact.

Pockets, pockets

The following is an extract from the magazine *Die Zinnfigur* on French dragoons from 1786 to 1799: "Pockets had either a vertical or horizontal cut. But contradictions have been revealed concerning the question of pockets. In 1786 it was noticed that the vertical pockets were decorated with white metal buttons, whilst yellow metal buttons were found on pockets that were cut horizontally. But despite all that Malibran says the regiments of the king, of the Condoe and of the Bourbon had yellow metal buttons with vertical pockets..."

Adolf Höhmann, a spritely 75 years of age, a kind of Grandma Moses from Kassel, has for sale a series of figures that he has himself painted. There is Stanley and Livingstone in the jungle, a military band from a Prussian army wearing their famous helmets, Robinson Crusoe and his Man Friday on their island. Robinson Crusoe's raft alone includes 64 figures.

Summing up most collecters' attitudes he said: "This all has very little significance, but it gives a great deal of pleasure."

Eberhardt Nitschke

(Die Welt, 22 September 1973)

Strange gifts sent to government leaders

Behind the clock tower of the Palais Schaumburg in Bonn apparitions that have something to do with Chancellor Willy Brandt are piled up. There is Willy Brandt in wood, in bronze, in stone, in iron, in feathers and above all in oils. There is the Chancellor with blue, green or brown eyes, with wrinkles some he himself does not know about or with a smooth skin that looks as if it has just been attended to by a plastic surgeon.

The collection of presents in the "chamber of horrors" in the Chancellery would be an exciting exhibition of paintings, according to Chancellery spokesman Winkel, given some psychological-sociological image of the Chancellor held by people in West Germany in the seventies far-better than the best of popularity polls."

The collection includes paintings, montages and collages – the most impressive shows Willy Brandt crowned by steel wheel cogs and surrounded by portraits of contempory personalities such as Nixon, Karl Schiller, Willi Weyer, Franz Josef Strauss, Rainer Barzel, Gustav Heinemann and Kurt Georg Kissinger -- but these are not the only items that, according to Walter Henkel could be included in a museum of official presents. For several years Herr Henkel has pressed for the establishment of such a museum.

There is a steel brush to expel the Young Socialists and from Florida came a gigantic chairman's gavel.

Farmers send small sacks of wheat, gramophone records, medals, vases, earthenware pots, maps of cities, a mandoline orchestra sent a picture of the whole orchestra, the Canadian Prime Minister sent coins, there is a plate with a portrait of Masaryk on it, pearl embroidery from Africa with the word "Wilibrant" a series of bird pictures in oil with original feathers. There is also a pair of goalkeeper's stun pads sent from Warsaw.

Among the presents that have a message, so to speak, there is a roll of toilet paper sent to Herbert Wehner care of the Chancellery because the sender did not know his home address. The toilet paper was sent to Herr Wehner from someone in Recklinghausen who took objection to a form of words Herr Wehner used three times in a certain newspaper article.

Like all other presents that arrive by post this toilet roll first had to pass through security. If any suspicious looking parcels are received these are passed over to a special military unit for immediate attention.

A wellwisher from East Frisia will also be disappointed, for having spied on the Chancellor through the fence and watched the Chancellor playing with his sheepdog Hussar he sent the Chancellor a huge pedigree Münsterland hound with a forty-line poem. The Chancellor's secretary, Gerda Landerer was asked to politely return the present and sent the Chancellor's in rhyme.

The sender can be assured that the hound is not one of the items collected in lumber room of the Palais Schaumburg.

Uly Foerster/Karlheinz von den Driesch

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 27 September 1973)

SPORT

Evangelical Academy sponsors sports seminar at Tutzing

The trouble with sport in this country is that it is always a bridesmaid, never a bride. Yet sport badly needs the [...]ardage lines of legal recognition. Fine [wo]rds and chivalrous gestures by the [po]liticians are no longer enough; nor are a [...]'s best friend, in this case the string of [spo]rts grounds built by local authorities [an]d the millions in grants supplied by the [Spo]rts Aid Foundation.

Sport has long ceased to be the "most [wo]nderful minor matter in the world." In [co]untries as different as the GDR and Switzerland it has long since been [an]chored in the constitution as a civil right, legitimised and rendered eligible for [su]bsidy.

In this country, on the other hand, the position of sport remains a controversial issue. This much was evident at a sports seminar held by the Evangelical Academy at Tutzing on Bavaria's Starnberger See.

"For the first time ever," Karlheinz Gieseler, general secretary of the Federal Republic Sports League (DSB), noted, all three political parties have gathered together with sports officials to outline and discuss their views on the future and the role of sport."

"Sport occupies an important place among the priorities of the present Federal government," Parliamentary Under-Secretary Kurt Jung of the Bonn Interior Ministry stated, but in reality both the present government and its predecessors, not to mention the political parties, continue to regard sport as an attractive but minor matter deserving of a certain amount of financial support. Bonn may be ploughing 293 million Marks into sport but its attitude towards organised sport remains the same.

Willibald Weichert of Giessen University went to the trouble of comparing the sports policy undertakings of all major political parties and concluded that there was little to choose between them, all being little more than fine words and assurances that "We are all in favour of sport" – just as everyone is naturally in favour of peace.

Politicians' indifference

All political parties are evidently unaware of the eminent importance of sporting activities for society and what may loosely be termed welfare policies.

Examples galore can be fielded in support of the claim that the politicians are indifferent to sport. The first time the topic was ever discussed in the Bundestag was in 1971, and that was on a Friday when most members were already absent.

Sport made its second appearance on the Bundestag agenda only a few weeks ago, having been assigned twenty-fourth place as the item of least importance by the committee of senior members responsible for procedural matters.

Dr Hans Evers, chairman of the Bundestag sports sub-committee, had to admit that the committee was not permitted to proffer advice in respect of the new Woodlands Act, which as things stand will ban as a general rule all horse-riding in woods and forests. There is even less hope of the DSB being given a hearing on this point.

Professor Schlee of Mainz had this to say about subsidies: "We spend about 25,000 million Marks a year on ill-health, yet a mere 293 million Marks are ploughed into sport as a means of its prevention." This, Dr Evers calculated, was a fifth of a per cent of the cost of medical care.

The few allocations that are made are distributed by twelve different Ministries in Bonn. All that Under-Secretary Jung was prepared to say in reply to allegations that co-ordination left much to be desired was that this was a tricky issue.

Kurt Jung pledged detailed government support for competitive and top-flight sport but dismissed the no less health-giving lower rungs of the sporting ladder in a single sentence: "In the leisure and mass sport sectors greater efforts are called for." Funds were, however, available for pilot projects in this context.

No one in party politics seems to have realised how important sport and government grants towards it have become. Some twelve million people already belong to clubs affiliated to the DSB and according to an Emnid survey 41 per cent of the general public claim to engage in sporting activities of one kind and another as against only 25 per cent as recently as 1970.

Now these figures may sound exaggerated and include activities that can only with a pinch of salt be taken as sport, but there can be no denying the trend that threatens to engulf sport. The reasons for this explosions in popularity are straightforward enough: people have more spare time and get too little exercise.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Yet the general public is in no way prepared for the onslaught and sport still finds deaf ears among the politicians who persist in failing to realise its significance for social policies.

It is nor merely a matter of spare-time sport, nor yet one of top-flight sport or the entertainement value of sport as purveyed by the mass media, a sales pitch that might lead one to believe that sport is a new factor in the quality of life.

The problem is where the eighteen million members of sports clubs the DSB expects to represent by 1980 are to train and play, not to mention millions more who decide that there is something in the keep-fit campaigns in their GP's advice to lose weight.

Who is to run the clubs, who is to coach the players, who is to foot the bill? Where are the sports teachers, the qualified coaches, the sports doctors and above all the facilities for spare-time mass sporting activity?

Franz Nitsch of the Universities Sports Union reckons that with the growing demand and the shortfall in facilities commercialisation of spare-time and all the excesses that may entail can be expected, and his argument has a convincing ring.

Sport thus really must be given the social importance it deserves. The politicians at Tutzing were agreed that sport must start at kindergarten and facilities continue to be available for enjoyment and pleasure for the relatively elderly.

Yet basically the sports fans were on their own at Tutzing. In their political parties, Churches and so on they remain a minority, and although their specialised knowledge is accepted and they are allowed to formulate demands that are then incorporated in general terms in programmes and manifestos, the same can be said of this gathering of the faithful as is said of parent-teacher association meetings. The ones who come are the ones who do not really need to do so.

Herbert Neumann

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 October 1973)

NOC chairman Willi Daume lets off steam at Varna



Willi Daume

(Photo: dpa)

In an unusually strongly-worded address to the IOC congress in Varna, Bulgaria, Willi Daume, chairman of this country's National Olympic Comittee, analysed and criticised the current state of the Olympic movement.

Herr Daume, who was last year elected vice-chairman of the IOC, accused the committee of sterility, blindness and grave errors of judgement. One of the instances he cited as an example of misjudgement under political pressure was the exclusion of the Rhodesian team from last year's Olympic Games.

"Many of those present will not be at all happy about what I have to say," Daume began the part of his speech dealing with the Rhodesian problen and the events prior to the 1972 Munich Olympics, "but let me remind you of the feeling we doubtless all had at the time, that this was something we must never allow to happen again."

At another point but in the same context Willi Daume noted that "I have often wondered whether the IOC has not been guilty of fundamental errors of judgement in the past. It is simply utopian to imagine that National Olympic Committees are entirely independent and autonomous. Viewed in this light the IOC statutes can be rated a totally unjustified presumption on the part of the IOC in assigning political status to athletes from one country or another."

His comments shocked the African delegates. Jean-Claude Ganga of the Congo, general secretary of the Supreme African Sports Council, talked in terms of a "combination on Daume's part that we had not expected."

Spokesman of the international sports associations were even more forthright than this country's IOC vice-chairman. Pierre Ferri, French president of the International Fencing Association, noted that:

"The international federations unanimously request the IOC in future to reserve no more decisions under political pressure. They cannot countenance the barring from the Olympic Games for political or racial reasons of countries whose National Olympic Committees are recognised by the IOC and whose national associations are affiliated to international federations."

This unambiguous comment applied to Rhodesia and South Africa, not to mention Taiwan. In the case of Taiwan the Japanese NOC again called for its exclusion from the Olympic movement on the ground that it was disgrace that Red China is forced to stay out.

Willi Daume's address, wide-ranging in its coverage of his views on future Olympics, was generally well received – by delegates from Eastern Europe too.

Unlike the international federations, which have been unable to reach agreement on matters of Olympic ceremony, Herr Daume made a surprise plea for the maintenance of flags and national anthems.

"I am bound to admit that I have changed my tune somewhat," he conceded, "but I recall the gaiety of the emerging countries in Munich that in a number of cases had little more to show for themselves than pride in their nationhood.

"I hardly need add that this emergent 'nationalism' perhaps forms the basis of remarkable tendencies from which the Olympics stand to benefit. The Olympic movement certainly ought to be capable of coping with a certain amount of nationalism at the Games."

Daume did not stop short at clearly outlining the shortcomings of the Olympic movement as he sees them. "At times I feel the Olympic movement has grown not only near sterile and incapable of flexibility but even blind."

He keenly advocated the sports federations' right to a say in the movement: "The Olympic rules and regulations ought not to be too detailed. They must merely lay down what is essential to maintain the Olympic character of the Games.

"Movements such as the Olympics may call for a certain composure, but this quality must be based on self-assurance and not on a conservatism that has long been shown to be untenable by the swift-moving age in which we live. I for one certainly have no clear idea of the Olympic concepts that might lead us in the direction of the twenty-first century."

DIE WELT

Major facets of these concepts were supplied by the international federations, which did sterling work in conjunction with the IOC at Varna, even though their ideas my not always have been in line with those of the International Olympic Committee.

The sports federations advocated Games for amateurs along lines that have yet to be approved by the IOC. They categorically opposed any reduction in the size of the Olympic Games and called for the inclusion of all disciplines acknowledged by the IOC.

Dieter Henning

(Die Welt, 4 October 1973)